FRANCE ON STRIKE—BY J. A. DEL VAYO

THE Nation

August 22, 1953
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Dulles in Asia

AFTER CONTAINMENT, WHAT?

by Mark Gayn

Third Force in the U. N. *Barbara Castle*

New Crisis in Kashmir *R. V. Thakur*

McCarthy in Texas *Paul Daggett*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Students Are Waking Up

Chicago

ALTHOUGH students are the ones who will ultimately suffer most from the current drive to destroy academic freedom, they have in general been apathetic in the face of this threat to their future. A turning point may have been reached, a real student movement for academic freedom started, at a recent student conference on academic freedom held at the University of Chicago.

At the first session the delegates, from twelve universities and colleges, gave a standing ovation to the keynote speech of H. H. Wilson, associate professor of politics at Princeton and contributing editor of *The Nation,* who told them that they were perhaps the only force that could change the climate of opinion; "the faculties will not take the initiative."

After analyzing the relationship between education and political power in America, Dr. Wilson emphasized that not only academic freedom but political freedom was at stake and that political weapons must therefore be used. Strongly defending the right of a Communist to teach, he pointed out that failure to understand this one key issue had resulted in continuing defeats for the supporters of academic freedom. Acceptance of the dictum that a Communist may not be permitted to teach, he said, focuses investigation on beliefs and associations rather than on overt acts and means political police on the campus.

The two other chief speakers were Dr. Howard K. Beale, professor of history at Wisconsin, who discussed recent threats to academic freedom, and Dr. John J. DeBoer, professor of education at Illinois, who spoke optimistically of the student's role in defending it. The conference divided itself into three workshops to discuss the rights of teachers, the rights of students, and the implications of the investigations. Each workshop brought out a resolution which was discussed, amended, and voted upon by the plenary session.

• The resolution on teachers' rights formulated three principles: (1) the only valid criterion for the hiring and firing of teachers is their professional competence; (2) neither Congressional investigation of a teacher's political beliefs or associations nor the witness's invocation of constitutional privilege should disqualify a teacher or place on him the burden of demonstrating again his qualifications; (3) political beliefs or associations, *including Communist Party membership,* are not and ought not to be the basis for judging ability to teach.

The resolution on student rights placed major emphasis upon full freedom of thought, expression, and association within the academic community. It called for free access in the classroom to every side of all questions, the selection of professors on the basis of their academic qualifications and teaching ability, and the right to be "judged on mastery of course material and not on the acceptance of one point of view."

The resolution on the implications of legislative investigations was carefully thought out and adopted only after a long and spirited discussion. In a severe indictment of the methods employed by investigating committees, "which lead people to regard witnesses as stereotypes rather than individual persons," the resolution declared that the investigators were promoting anti-democratic attitudes by encouraging "cynicism about the value of human dignity." In this stifling atmosphere, it continued, "the development of leaders with the ability for creative and critical thinking is dangerously retarded. Those who hold unpopular ideas are so intimidated by the climate of fear that the whole nation is deprived of any potential benefit from those ideas." Without questioning either the right or the power of Congressional committees to investigate for legislative purposes, the delegates found that the investigations are not "genuine inquiry but public defamation intended to extirpate from the colleges not disloyalty but dissent."

The resolution boldly asserted the belief that the same fallacious assumption —namely, "that ideas and associations at variance with the widely accepted norm are dangerous to the security of the state"—underlies both the Smith-act prosecutions and the operations of the investigating committees. It held "with the dissenting Justices [Black and Douglas] that the Smith act is an infringement upon the First Amendment, and that the risk of stifling political democracy when the law was upheld is far greater than the risk of its subversion by free political dissent." It concluded with a vigorous defense of those who refuse to cooperate with the investigating committees.

• Not satisfied with passing resolutions, the delegates planned a program of action for protecting academic freedom. It was agreed that "an effective fight for academic freedom must rely upon (1) education of the people to the issues; (2) exchange of information between presently isolated groups; and (3) a program of cooperation and coordination among all groups waging all the fights." The American student, it was felt, can play an important part in the fight to preserve political democracy through action within the university community, within the community of universities, and within the nation as a whole.

Specific recommendations for action were too numerous to be reported here. A Continuations Committee was appointed to organize a larger conference which should set up a national Student Academic Freedom Committee. Derek Staats of Northwestern and Peter H. Greene of the University of Chicago were elected co-chairmen of the Continuations Committee. Gwen Struik, of the University of Chicago, daughter of Dirk J. Struik, suspended M. I. T. professor, was elected secretary. This committee was charged with responsibility for publishing a newsletter on the state of academic freedom.

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Celebrations Deferred

This year's celebration of Independence Day in New Delhi and Karachi—August 15 in New Delhi, August 14 in Karachi—failed to coincide, as many had hoped, with news of the settlement of outstanding differences between the two countries, including the Kashmir issue. In Karachi the mood was far from joyous, and a reception to have been held in New York by the Pakistani delegate to the U. N., Ahmed S. Bokari, was canceled because of "the latest developments and happenings in India-occupied Kashmir and as a mark of sympathy with the people of Kashmir." New Delhi was more inclined to celebrate, but there, too, the tension was apparent. An article by R. V. Thakur in this issue (page 149) explains why an early settlement of all pending differences was hoped for as late as June and early July and suggests the nature of the pressures that have precipitated the new crisis. The source of these pressures was also indicated in a dispatch from New Delhi in the New York *Times* of August 12 quoting Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, who heads the new regime in Kashmir, as saying that "too many" diplomats had been visiting Srinagar lately and dinning into the ears of Sheik Abdullah the advantages of joining Pakistan or, if unsuccessful, urging him to ask for independence. Now that Mohammed Ali, the Pakistan Prime Minister, has left for New Delhi, where he will confer with Nehru "as long as necessary," the projected settlement may still be effected.

Midsummer Madness

The Administration's approach to the who, where, and when of the political conference on Far Eastern problems agreed upon under the Korean armistice is a piece of midsummer madness. To insist that only nations which participated in the fighting should be selected as U. N. representatives is to torpedo the theory that the United Nations as such acted to prevent aggression in Korea. A faction cannot speak for the whole; the sixteen active participants in the war are not the United Nations. Moreover to insist that the conference be set up as a meeting of two opposing "sides," "across the table," instead of arranging a round-table discussion to hammer out a settlement, is to invite trouble.

But beyond all this there is the refusal to invite India. Is it our policy to push the Indians into an "anti-American" position? What could be more offensive than the implication that India is not acceptable to us because, among other reasons, Syngman Rhee might be offended? It is almost as though we wanted to punish India for having played a key role in bringing about the armistice.

What role, one wonders, did Admiral Radford, who became chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on August 15, play in formulating our strange approach to the problem of organizing the conference—an approach that, by all accounts, took the British and our other friends completely by surprise? When coupled with our announced intention to walk out with President Rhee at the end of ninety days if we are not satisfied with progress, our approach seems calculated to isolate this country. Instead of undercutting the U. N. we should be redoubling our efforts to strengthen it. For therein lies our only hope of avoiding the isolation that Mr. Dulles seems so anxious to achieve. Let us hope that our U. N. friends will get us off the hook by asserting, as Barbara Castle suggests elsewhere in this issue (p. 143), "the authority of the United Nations against those who would 'go it alone' in an ideological war."

Everybody's Grandfather, Nobody's Fool

Although the tipsters had forecast a Liberal victory in the Canadian general election, few people had expected it would be by so wide a margin. A loss of only 10 seats leaves the Liberals with a majority of 77 over all other parties combined in a House of Commons totaling 265. This is an astonishing feat for a party that has been in office for nearly twenty years and a personal tribute to the seventy-one-year-old Louis St. Laurent who, entering politics late in life, succeeded to the Liberal leadership and office of Prime Minister on the death of MacKenzie King.

Mr. St. Laurent, who has been described as "looking like everybody's grandfather and nobody's fool," conducted a vigorous campaign and proved himself a prodigious vote-getter. Yet in the last analysis the strength of the Liberals must be considered in part a measure of the weakness of their opponents.

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The Russians Want Jam

THE second section of Malenkov's speech to the Supreme Soviet, which included his claim that Russia had the H-bomb, has for that reason attracted more attention than the first. Yet the earlier part of the Soviet Premier's address, which was devoted to internal affairs and treated Russia's economic shortcomings with unusual frankness, is in fact the more significant.

Malenkov's review of the international scene was rhetorical, generalized, and unoriginal. While perhaps less belligerent than some Soviet utterances of the past, it reiterated the standardized Communist charges against Western "imperialism" and the equally standardized protestations of Russia's devotion to peace. Once again, too, we were told at length about the might and unity of the Eastern bloc and its ability to repel and punish an aggressor. It was in the course of this passage that Malenkov released his tidbit about the H-bomb.

It may be that in enlarging on the theme of Russia's military strength Malenkov was barking up the wrong tree. Actually there is no tendency here or in other Western countries to minimize the Soviet military potential; if anything, some of our experts may be inclined to exaggerate it. What has been attracting Western attention is evidence that a heavy economic and political price has been paid for this strength. In some measure, the first half of Malenkov's speech reinforced this evidence.

While giving new and impressive statistics about the advance of Russia's economy in certain areas, the Soviet Premier also indicated that a serious lack of balance had developed—a fact Western economists had long suspected. Rebuking "right-wing capitulators . . . who demanded the transfer of funds from heavy to light industry," he simultaneously admitted that the tremendous build-up of the capital-goods industries had unduly restricted the output of consumer goods. It was now "urgent," he added, to raise sharply the population's supply of foodstuffs and manufactured articles and also to improve their quality and distribute them more efficiently.

Malenkov made some astringent remarks on mistakes and failures in the sphere of agriculture that appear to foreshadow drastic changes in policy. He criticized the system of evaluating farm production on the basis of "apparent yield" instead of on tonnages actually harvested and safely stored. He stressed the lag in stock breeding and in the production of potatoes and vegetables, implying that it had been a mistake to give the peasant less incentive to grow food than to grow industrial crops like cotton. He denounced as "incorrect" methods that had been used to discourage collective farmers from working their private auxiliary homesteads.

By way of remedying some of these defects, delivery—

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but not retail—prices of many farm products are to be increased, and both monetary taxes and obligatory deliveries of produce from private farms are to be reduced. Supplies of consumer goods for both town and country are to be enlarged by diverting to their manufacture some part of the productive apparatus now used in making yet more machines to make machines—and weapons. Is a program of this kind, we wonder, compatible with the tremendous investment required for making a stock of H-bombs? Just one phase of that process, the construction of a tritium (triple hydrogen) plant on the Savannah River, is costing this country one and one-half billion dollars.

We wonder also whether the Soviet government in thus proposing a modest improvement in living standards is seeking to forestall in Russia such eruptions as have lately been manifest in several satellite countries—eruptions provoked in part by an overemphasis on capital formation. All news of these manifestations and of the concessions with which they have been met can hardly have been suppressed inside Russia. Is it possible that the Russian workers and peasants have begun to ask in unmistakable accents for "jam today"? If that is so, one can understand why the Soviet government, whether or not it has abandoned long-term ambitions of expansion, is now anxious to relax international tensions and, apparently, prepared to make at least some compromises to achieve that end.

Third Force in the U. N.

BY BARBARA CASTLE

London

IT IS important that we should learn the right lessons from the tragedy of the Korean war. To recognize the fact—as I agree we should—that the United Nations failed to unify Korea by force is not to condemn collective security but to deplore that we failed to make security collective. The original purpose in Korea, before General MacArthur ran away with it, was to prove that aggression does not pay; it was a valid purpose and would be valid again today. The trouble was that the United Nations failed to take control of its own war, so that the simple original purpose was lost in American anti-Communist strategy. We must certainly learn from our mistakes, but to suggest that any attempt to make the United Nations work must mean more and bigger wars is not hindsight but myopia.

The United Nations is our one hope of preventing the capitalist and Communist power blocs from getting at each other's throats in a holy war. The Charter always recognized that there could be no hope of peace unless the big powers agreed to live and let live. It expressly forbids interference in the internal affairs of a member; it is ideologically neutral. Of course, in the stress of the cold war, each side has tried to use the U. N. for its own purposes; and admittedly there is the danger that those elements in the U. N. which fear and oppose social change will try to get all civil wars and social revolutionary wars denounced as "aggression." They will try, but in my view they will be less likely to succeed than if the United Nations did not exist. It would be quite wrong to imagine—as I discovered when I attended the General Assembly in 1949 and 1950 as a British delegate—that all member states are lined up on one side or the other in the cold war.

There is a healthy inclination on the part of the "have-not" nations to call "a plague on both your houses" to the quarreling giants. In fact, the U. N. is the only place where a Third Force actually operates, as the part played by the Arab-Asian group at crucial moments in the Korean war showed. With the United Nations establishing the objective facts in any crisis and providing a forum where both sides can be heard, there is no excuse for the peoples of the democracies to be stampeded into war on the say-so of their government. Nor, incidentally, can any country be stampeded into war by the United Nations, which is an organization of sovereign states. "Collective security," therefore, is merely a call to action; it can never be a command. No member state is likely to obey the call unless it is satisfied that the case is proved. "Collective security" in such circumstances becomes the counting of voices as to whether an act of aggression has been committed by one nation or another; and surely it is better to get a world opinion on such a matter than leave it to be decided by interested parties like the nations belonging to NATO.

India, for example, voted in the Security Council in June, 1950, for the resolutions denouncing the aggression of North Korea and calling for collective action; it would certainly take a very different line if an attempt were made to denounce Ho Chi-minh as an aggressor. In my view India was right: if the United Nations had not acted in 1950 to defend the Korean frontier it had itself created and recognized, its authority would have evaporated, and there would today be no international authority to which we could turn to guarantee the neutrality of a reunified Korea.

Now that the Korean armistice restoring the status quo has been successfully achieved, in the face of all attempts to extend the war, we should claim this as a victory for collective security and so strengthen the hands of those who, at the current General Assembly, will be working to assert the authority of the United Nations against those who would "go it alone" in an ideological war.

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DULLES IN ASIA

After Containment, What? . . *by Mark Gayn*

IT MAY well be that the current session of the United Nations will best be remembered not for what it achieves but for having come at a hinge in time, between the discarded yesterday and the perplexing tomorrow. For this year has seen new men and forces take over power in both the Soviet Union and the United States, and the U. N. session presents the first major forum at which their policies and fears, their hesitations and long-range plans, can be voiced, and matched against each other.

By the time the brief session is done, we should have a better understanding of the promise of the new era. Will the Soviet Union pursue its policy of conciliation, pledged in Red Square oratory on a mournful day in March, or will it speak with the harsher tones of Malenkov's statement in early August? Will our allies in Asia and Europe, freed by the Korean truce from the compulsion to follow our lead, turn to "neutralism"? Finally, will the United States show the contours of its new, bold, and coherent foreign policy that is to take the place of the policy of "containment"?

It is the end of containment that makes this season especially portentous for Americans. For, the Democrats to the contrary, the policy of Truman, Acheson, and Kennan is dead. And, contrary to the Republican spellbinders, it has died, not because "the rascals have been turned out," but because containment has outlived its historical validity.

Containment was rooted in the geopolitics of 1945, when it was still feasible to throw a fence around the Soviet Union and its satellites in Europe. The Communist triumph in China late in 1949, however, made the Red world too big to be fenced around. The real meaning of the Korean war lay in demonstrating the prohibitive cost of keeping the Communists in their corral when they tried to break out. Since Moscow could duplicate the Korean adventure in a dozen places, from Germany to Indo-China, the concept of containment had to be abandoned. It was simply a historical coincidence that General Eisenhower had come to power at this juncture. Had Adlai Stevenson won, he too would have had to grope for a new policy.

But if Mao Tse-tung's victory began the disintegration of the former American policy, Stalin's death completed it. For containment was predicated on our possession of strong Western allies, dedicated to our political strategy. Stalin's demise and the emergence of new leaders and policies in Moscow have shaken the purpose of our Western allies and their willingness to support the elaborate and costly machinery of military containment.

"Neutralism," only a year ago regarded as a leftist fad, has now become a potent—and highly respectable—force in European politics. One need only read the British *Hansard* to discover that the new political mood has affected both the Tory and the Socialist. The Europeans are profoundly disturbed by the direction in which the policy of containment has been taking them. They have never been certain that Russia—let alone Russia *and China*—could be contained, except at the risk of Europe's destruction. And left or right, they have now happily embraced the vague hope that Stalin's heirs are in such acute straits themselves that they *must* seek the paths of peace and commerce.

The end of containment has had another important corollary which has escaped general notice. We are leaving Korea *physically*. Our troops may remain there for a long, long time, and even after they depart, there will still be an American military mission. But, I think, it is plain that we shall fight no more battles on Korean soil, and that this decision must have been made many months ago.

When the Communists burst out of their containment in 1950, President Truman faced a terrible dilemma. If he did not intervene, the world might have been treated to a series of Communist military adventures. Commendably, Truman chose intervention. By 1953, however, Korea had become a quagmire. It is not only that the inconclusive struggle was straining tempers in the United States, but also that it invited military disaster. The bulk of the United States forces had become committed in an area where they were being bled and where, conceivably, they could be trapped and destroyed.

IT IS A tribute to Syngman Rhee's acumen that he perceived early the nature of the new American decision. This is the real explanation of all his maneuvers and stratagems of the past two or three months. Fearful of being left alone, he had undertaken to involve the United States in new commitments. The newly concluded mutual-defense pact may seem to indicate that he had succeeded. But a careful reading of the document will show that no commitments had been made to him. Each brave promise is carefully handcuffed, and Washington obviously retains a free hand.

What the pact does do is serve a warning on Moscow and Peking that the United States would regard a new incursion into South Korea as a major challenge, the response to which might not be confined to this devastated peninsula. There are, however, flaws in this position that will not escape the Communist planners. By any yardstick, a sound American policy for Asia must depend on the good-will and support of the two most powerful non-Communist Asian nations, Japan and India. The fact is, however, that India refuses to be drawn into Dullesian patterns, while

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Japan is increasingly asserting its political independence.

For three years Japan's true and tragic dilemma has been obscured by the Korean war. But now that the American bounty, in the form of military orders, is beginning to shrink, Japan has to do some very realistic thinking on its position in the new Pacific. Would it be willing to remain an American outpost, stuck out perilously in the Pacific no man's land? Can its economy support the growing population unless new markets and new and cheaper sources of raw materials are found? My Japanese friends write me that "neutralism" is sweeping the land, and many political and intellectual leaders begin to visualize Japan as the "third force" in Asia. The Yoshida government is not unresponsive to these moods. Its refusal to meet Washington's appeals for a speedy rearmament has been pointed. Even more so has been the Diet's resolution, passed immediately after the Korean truce and demanding renewed trade with Red China.

What can the Republicans offer Japan to offset these tremendous fears, yearnings, and pressures? Mr. Dulles has returned to Japan some of its less important islands. He has presumably pledged continued economic aid, and help in rebuilding the Japanese army. But such remedies can cure nothing. The United States can neither keep the Japanese economy solvent indefinitely nor shoulder the Japanese defense budget for years to come. Sooner or later the bars will have to be let down, and Japan will have to be allowed to establish normal diplomatic and trade relations with its powerful Red neighbors. Can anyone assume that once such contacts are established, Japan will remain a pliant and obedient instrument of American policy?

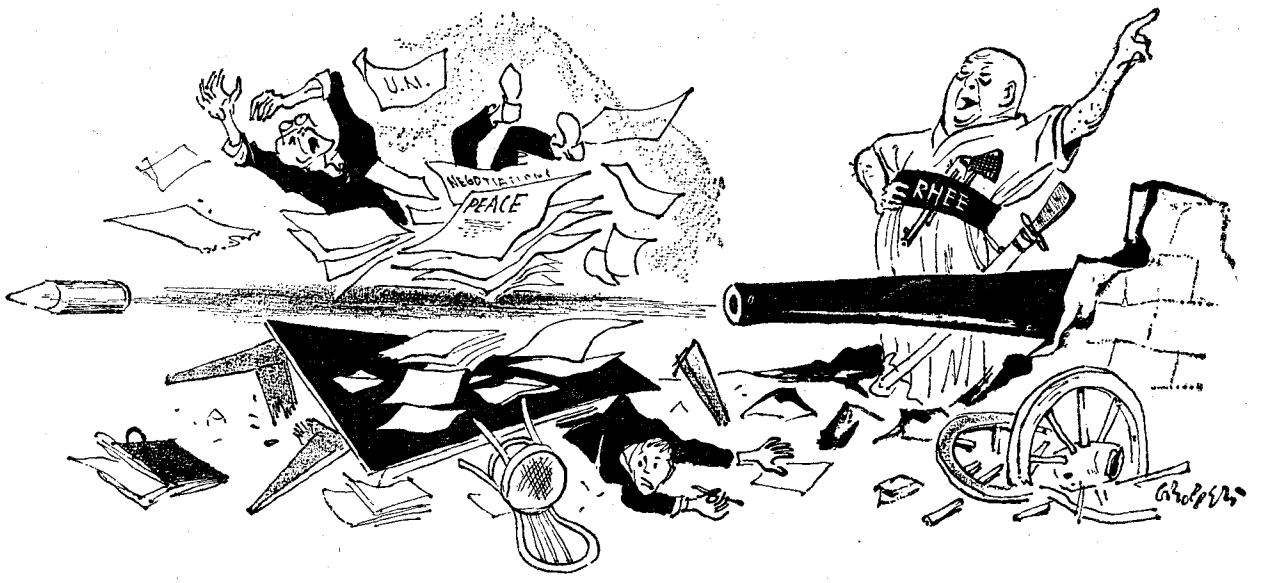
IT SHOULD be assumed that Mr. Dulles has all along been seeking alternatives to the policy of containment. Some of these alternatives, such as his concept of "liberation," have had to be abandoned early, partly because of the outcry from our Western allies. Some other alternatives obviously could never be considered because of the fear of one wing of Mr. Dulles's own fellow-Republicans. Nor, in fact, is there any sign that a coherent, long-range program has already been defined.

Yet, if not the clear pattern, then the thinking behind the new blueprint does emerge, here, at the Assembly session, in Mr. Eisenhower's chat with the governors in Seattle, in Mr. Dulles's statements in Seoul. If these are the true signposts, they seem to indicate that our new foreign policy will be a variant of containment, with some very significant changes. For one, the Republicans—very properly, in view of the Communist victory in China—put a much heavier emphasis on Asia than the Democrats have in recent years. For another, the new policy advances our frontier from the chain of islands in the western Pacific to the continent of Asia itself. Just as the Rhee-Dulles treaty earmarks South Korea for our permanent zone of concern and influence, so does President Eisenhower's speech in Seattle put us in Indo-China. Finally, the former concept of employing American troops abroad to back up our foreign policy is largely discarded. The Republican big stick will be admonitory rather than physical. In effect, the United States will now serve notice on Moscow and Peking that any effort to breach the fence separating the two rival worlds, whether in Iran, Germany, or Indo-China, would lead to total war. "We shall not scatter our troops around the globe," Washington seems to be saying. "We shall have no more Koreas. But if you try to expand anywhere in the world, you'll do so at the peril of a global conflict." Even, apparently, if we have to go it alone.

What the Communist reaction to such a policy might be is not easy to foretell. In fact, the guiding factor in such a reaction must be the acuteness of the crisis in the Soviet Union. Thus far, Moscow has supplied two hints of its attitude. One was the vague prediction in *Krasnaya Zvezda,* the Red Army mouthpiece, that peace could be achieved anywhere, including Indo-China. The other was Malenkov's curiously timed declaration that the United States had no monopoly on the hydrogen bomb.

It is even more difficult to gauge China's reaction to such a policy. In my interviews with Mao Tse-tung few things impressed me as much as his recital of what the United States could *try* to do to Red China, and with what success.

"Suppose you drop 10,000 A-bombs on 10,000 villages! This is a peasant



WHO'S CALLING THE SHOTS?

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country, and we'd survive it. Suppose you send a million troops here. The Japanese have tried it, and they failed. What can you do that they haven't tried?"

But a policy of "refreshing toughness," to borrow Speaker Joseph Martin's words, has features even more troublesome than its possible failure to impress Peking and Moscow. A policy of "or else" must remain a bluff unless we are physically able to back it up. I strongly doubt that we are. What is worse, such a policy may strain the bonds with our allies to the near-breaking point. Can Washington be certain that a reunited Germany would join us in any retaliatory war on the Soviet Union? Is there any indication that Japan is ready to wage war on China or Russia? And can anyone in Washington misread the London *Times* rebuke to the Tory government, which had joined us and fourteen other nations in a warning to China: "Never announce a threatening policy unless you are ready in the last resort to carry it out."

In the Pacific as in the West, our allies are restive. They yearn for a relaxation of tensions, and they see the Korean truce not as a signal for a tougher policy but as one for large-scale commerce with the Red world. Thus far many factors, including political affinity and our allies' dependence on our economic largess, have kept us on a common course. But once Germany or Japan succumbs to the lure of Communist trade, will the rest of the anti-Communist front hold out? And if it does not, what would this do to a policy of "refreshing toughness"?

IF A foreign policy can have an emotional focus, the focus of Mr. Dulles's policy is the recognition of Red China. This is the point where passion replaces reason, where the politicians deal with symbols and fetishes, and where the pressures are felt most acutely.

Seventeen of the sixty members of the United Nations have recognized the government in Peking. A few of them have been guided by political kinship; some others have merely acknowledged, through recognition, the emergence of a vital power with which one would have to deal, like it or not; and still more have recognized China in the hope of a booming trade. Up to now such hopes have not been realized. The U. N. embargo has kept the commerce down, and, in any case, China does not have enough exportable goods to pay for what it would wish to buy. Yet the enormous market, and the hope, remain. And with them remain the pressures for recognition and untrammeled trade—pressures so great that the United States might well find itself either isolated from its allies or compelled to give ground.

The foes of our own recognition of Peking—or of Red China's admission to the United Nations—have far better arguments than most liberals would concede. Red China in the Security Council would double Russia's political weight. Admission to the U. N. would also enhance immensely Peking's influence in what is really a vacuum of power in non-Communist Asia. The fate of Formosa would create serious problems, for no American government today could regard with equanimity the surrender of the island to a hostile nation. And, just as a matter of practical politics, even a President as popular as Eisenhower would have to think twice before withdrawing recognition from Chiang Kai-shek, who has long been the darling of the right wing of the Republican Party.

Yet it remains an absurdity to bar the effective government of the most populous country in the world from the community of nations, and let instead the seat be held by a regime that is slowly withering of decay and old age. Nor is there much political sense in denying ourselves a meeting ground with one of our two great and deadly rivals. Have we lost or benefited by our recognition of the Soviet Union, and by the opportunity to keep a large staff of observers in Moscow? Have we lost by Russia's presence in the United Nations? And would we have suffered the débâcle on the Yalu in the winter of 1950 had we —like India—been represented in Peking by a cool-headed and competent ambassador?

It is argued that we, as a moral nation, should not indicate our approval of Red China by recognizing it. But obviously this deep sense of morality did not prevent us from recognizing Russia, or Czechoslovakia, or Hungary, nor did it lead us to withdraw recognition from Perón, Franco, or even Hitler. One is reminded of the Tory who rose in Parliament the other day to exclaim: "We recognized China as we recognized Mount Everest or a wet day in the middle of the summer. We recognized it because it was there."

Our continued support of Chiang Kai-shek, of course, is not accidental. As shown by our mutual-defense pact with South Korea, the new policy obviously presupposes reliance on a host of local regimes along the Red periphery. More than ever, we are seemingly to become the true and bound allies of Syngman Rhee, of Bao Dai, of Chiang Kai-shek, and the sundry Arab leaders. In virtually every instance the new policy would enable these men and regimes to play us against our own fear of communism. Can we be sure that Rhee, with all the guile and fanaticism that are his earmarks, would not seek to involve us in new bloody incidents in Korea? And if he does try, do we discard him or do we renew the hostilities? Would the new policy identify communism with anti-Western nationalism in Southeast Asia, and what would be our reaction to its successes? And if Mossadegh tearfully beds himself with Tudeh, would we regard this as proof of Soviet aggrandizement, and threaten retaliation?

WHAT ARE the goals of our foreign policy? Half seriously, a London *Times* correspondent reports that the Republicans are in search of a policy "that will satisfy both Congress and the Western allies, fulfil American pledges to President Rhee, safeguard Japan, [and] secure Southeast Asia for the free world" —and this by peaceful means. There is a great deal of truth in this, but not enough.

The two great problems before the United States—and the capitalist system —are the spread of world communism and the threat of depression. We alone cannot halt Communist expansion, and therefore we must have allies, in Asia as in Europe. But we cannot retain these allies unless we either finance them—as we did under the Marshall Plan—or allow them to trade wherever they can, which means, above all, the Red world. As for the depression, now timed by our economic pundits for 1954, it can be averted only by continued defense expenditures and heavy investments abroad. Under the Republicans the defense budget remains largely untouched. As for the investments, the

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new policy would seem to offer American capital even less security than did the much-maligned policy of Mr. Acheson. It is unlikely that a policy of "or else" would lure the investor into the uncertain climate of India, or Japan, or Indo-China, or even Pakistan, which we are now beginning to befriend.

No one outside Washington can even pretend to know all the answers. But it does seem that, in molding his new policy, Mr. Dulles has been ignoring one of the most portentous developments of the post-war era. There can no longer be any doubt that the Soviet Union and the entire Red world are passing through an immense crisis. Moscow has by now given more than adequate evidence of its eagerness to relieve world tensions. Korea, where the Communists reversed their position to bring about the truce, is an item in this evidence.

An intransigent American policy that denies us the opportunity to sit down with both Russia and China and probe the scope of the global concessions they might want to make to reduce tensions can only hurt us. It is more than likely that in the process of give-and-take we might find Moscow and Peking ready to sacrifice the Communist regimes in East Germany and Indo-China, as Stalin once sacrificed the Communist rebels in Greece. But, as George Kennan observes, this can be achieved best across a conference table, with no ultimatums. The policy of "or else" can only stiffen the diehard spirits in Moscow and Peking.

Admittedly, any agreement with the Red world is likely to be impermanent. I do not believe in the blissful and indefinite "coexistence" of two hostile systems. I might also note that Stalin himself usually modified his promises of coexistence with the meaningful words, "for a long time." An agreement to end the cold war also may have the disadvantage of giving the Communists in Russia and China the desperately needed time to cope with the difficulties produced by the rigidities of Stalinism.

But as against this, time is our ally as well. There are many symptoms of a dangerous sickness within the Red world. The future of the Sino-Soviet relations is not wholly certain. And a Communist pledge to still the spirit of revolt and conspiracy in the more turbulent segments of the non-Communist world might prove a better incentive to American investments than an uncertain stability based on our threats. A time of peace is also a time when our best allies, Japan and Germany, France and England, can regain economic health through world-wide trade.

There are many at the U. N. session here—many of them among our staunchest friends—who yearn for the end of tension, for a chance to trade, for old-fashioned "normalcy." They are frightened by the lack of suppleness in our policy, by the extremist pressures under which our policy is being shaped, by our vagueness, and by our inexpertness in the use of diplomatic tools. Many of them, in the months to come, will defy our wishes and our pressures, perhaps at the cost of popularity here. They will do so not in enmity for us, but because to survive they must live in peace with the Communist giants, and trade with them. Can we heed the voices of our allies? Or will we continue with the evolution of a foreign policy that promises little more than a dangerous stalemate—a policy intricate and brittle, based more on the threat of retaliation than on the willing support of non-Communist millions from India to the Ruhr, and, by its very nature, temporary and unlikely to achieve the ends we say we desire.

McCARTHY IN TEXAS

Fishing for Goldfish . . *by Paul Daggett*

Dallas

SENATOR JOE McCARTHY has been doing some fishing for goldfish in Texas but so far seems to have caught only a few minnows. While it has been rumored that he was able to tap conservative and reactionary Texas oil men for big money, the facts which have come to light indicate that his take, from the Texas oil man's political-financial point of view, has been chicken feed.

Clint Murchison, the fabulous Dallas oil and corporation promoter, frankly told a New York *Post* correspondent that McCarthy had asked him for a producing oil well. But he didn't get it. So far, Murchison hasn't done any more for McCarthy then he would do for any political friend. He has contributed about $25,000 to causes McCarthy was sponsoring, such as the defeat of Senator Millard Tydings in Maryland.

H. R. Cullen, the Houston multi-millionaire, sent McCarthy $5,000 for his campaign last year. This was merely one of the largest of a score of contributions he made to Republican and conservative Democratic candidates; he gave the same amount to the campaign of Senator Price Daniel (D., Tex.). (Cullen's interest in Liberty Network was discussed in an article by Paul Husserl, Texas Oil on Troubled Air Waves, in *The Nation* of November 3, 1951.)

H. L. Hunt, reputed to be the richest man in Texas with a fortune of $600,000,000, has put a nation-wide television program on the air through his "non-profit, educational corporation" Facts Forum. McCarthy appeared on the first program, debating with Senator Warren Magnuson. The Facts Forum broadcasts are carried on 115 radio stations and more than 30 television stations. Listed on the letterhead as councilors of the organization are General Robert E.

PAUL DAGGETT is The Nation's *correspondent in Texas.*

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Wood of Sears-Roebuck, Governor Allan Shivers, and General Albert Wedemeyer. Frank Redding, who helped organize the Dallas chapter back in 1951, has given an interesting account of his experience with Facts Forum in an interview with Joseph A. Dear of the Madison *Capital-Times*:

I went by the Mercantile Security Building to see what it [Facts Forum] was all about. Dan Smoot gave me a wonderful pitch on the need for keeping people informed; so I went back to my part of town to get a forum going. It was a very generous organization. They had prizes for everything—$1,000 for a Facts Forum song, another $1,000 for a Facts Forum poem, and so on. They even had $250 for the best letter to the editor. I won a couple of hundred myself. They also had library facilities, and they would lend you films, screens, and projectors for your forum meetings. Of course, most of the books seemed conservative, like those by John Flynn.

But there was a gimmick. Every two weeks Facts Forum headquarters sent a questionnaire to us. Some of the questions were pretty loaded, like "Should Congress investigate the State Department for losing China?" . . . Then after we answered these questionnaires — other chapters were getting them too—newspapers would carry stories reporting results. And it was a funny thing, but the announced results were always the opposite of the way we had voted. . . . About this time it was announced that Senator McCarthy would speak in Dallas. He was introduced by Dan Smoot, a former F. B. I. agent, who said H. L. Hunt was sorry he couldn't be there to welcome this great American. That was the first I knew about Hunt's tie-in with Facts Forum. Or McCarthy's. In fact, I felt that I had been tricked into joining a McCarthy front organization. So I got out and our chapter of the Forum disbanded.

Despite Hunt's admiration for McCarthy, however, the reports that he will sponsor the Senator on a national TV network are probably no more than wishful thinking on the part of Joe and his friends.

THE BIG TEXAS oil men, with 27½ per cent of their oil income exempt from income tax, naturally have more cash to toss into political campaigns than other business men of equal wealth. And also quite naturally they attract people in search of money as a Texas outhouse draws flies.

McCarthy's recent much-publicized trip to Texas and Mexico to visit

Murchison caused Frank Murchison, Clint's older brother, to remark that McCarthy was after some of Clint's $281,000,000. That is the estimate *Fortune* put on Clint Murchison's net worth in articles in its January and February issues, but the figure is considered conservative by those who know that many of his holdings are in others' names.

A regular contributor to the Democratic Party up to 1952, Murchison takes a hand in politics as a matter of business. His interests in New Mexico public utilities led him to give strong support to John E. Miles in the New Mexico Democratic primary in 1950. The heavy spending so divided the party that for the first time in many years New Mexico elected a Republican governor, Edward Mecham. Murchison's interests in gas pipe lines caused him to back the Kerr bill to exempt the sale of gas by producers to interstate pipe lines from Federal Power Commission rate regulation. In switching to the Republicans nationally in 1952 he was probably influenced by his old friend, Sid Richardson of Fort Worth, the man who went to Paris in early 1952 to tell Ike that he would put up as much as $3,000,000 to win him the Presidency. Although Murchison and Richardson had done well with their many contacts in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, they were ready for a change, especially one that would mean a reduction in federal spending and taxation.

Hunt's interest in politics is more one of principle. He was a staunch advocate of the nomination of General MacArthur by the Republicans in 1952. As a member of the Texas delegation to the G. O. P. national convention, he cast his vote for MacArthur but consented a few days later to support Ike.

Cullen, the most talked-about of the three tycoons, was for MacArthur, Taft, and Eisenhower last year, in that order. He made contributions to MacArthur's New Jersey and New Hampshire primary campaigns, to Representative Martin Dies of Texas ($5,000), to Eisenhower's campaign in Texas ($5,000), to McCarthy ($5,000). Cullen is against almost everything that has been done in Washington since 1933 and spends some of the millions he has made in that time in trying to undo it. Cullen thinks of himself as such a big shot that this spring when he was invited to come to the White House to sit in on a Cabinet meeting he declined, saying he was too busy. Even the big Texas oil boys would usually consider a White House invitation a command.

McCARTHY has made six trips to Texas in the past year, some of them quiet, others well advertised. One of the quietest was a trip to Houston, whose purpose, he said, was to investigate the charges of the Texas-Ohio Gas Company that the Federal Power Commission had refused it a permit to build a line to Ohio because of political pressure applied by the Texas Eastern and Tennessee Gas companies. Texas Eastern is dominated by George and Herman Brown of Houston, multimillionare contractors and oil operators who did very well on government contracts during the Democratic era. (Herman Brown's career was described by Hart Stilwell in *The Nation*, November 10, 1951, in an article called Will He Boss Texas?) While in Houston, McCarthy lunched with a top executive of one of Cullen's oil companies, referring to him as "an old friend."

Money-wise Texas politicians are inclined to view McCarthy's contacts with rich Texans as still in the build-up stage. If a situation develops in which he needs big money in a hurry, the contacts will be valuable. Whether the oil men will stay with him as he demonstrates that he thinks Ike's appointees are just as soft toward communism as Truman's remains to be seen.

Murchison exhibited his practical nature when he was asked about his interest in McCarthy. He said he sent $10,000 to help beat Senator Tydings in Maryland and $15,000 to help beat Senator Benton in Connecticut at McCarthy's suggestion. But as for using

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McCarthy's influence in Washington, Murchison snorted: "Hell, I've got ten men in Congress who are better thought of than McCarthy. I don't need him for influence."

Big operators like Murchison naturally admire a man like McCarthy who is willing to shoot the works on a slim chance, a man as uninhibited in politics as they are in gambling in oil. They are willing to establish their lines to him just in case his long-shot gamble pays off in the Presidency, but they are covering their bets by keeping in touch with Eisenhower and also with the Democratic leadership.

Murchison, a long-time Democratic contributor, didn't show up on the Republican contribution lists in 1952 but spent about $100,000 in free-lance campaigning. A newspaper which he financed—mailed to all rural boxholders—used appeal to prejudice to entire rural voters away from the Democratic ticket.

If there is a swing back to the Democrats nationally in 1956, Murchison will probably be swinging with it. Hunt and Cullen, more conservative by nature, do not need Administration help. Murchison, whose many enterprises are in one way or another involved with government, will make sure he is on the side of the winner, be it McCarthy, Stevenson, or Eisenhower.

McCarthy has set out his trotline in Texas waters which are teeming with fish. Whether he gets a big catch depends on what kind of bait he develops between now and 1955, when his bid for the Presidency, if he makes one, will begin in earnest.

CRISIS IN KASHMIR

New Pressures at Work . . . *by R. V. Thakur*

Calcutta

THE arrest of Sheik Abdullah, Prime Minister of the India-held section of Kashmir, and the attendant disorders in Srinagar, the capital, have brought the explosive Kashmir issue again to the forefront of world attention.

Until the recent disturbances the outlook for an early settlement of the Indo-Pakistani conflict over Kashmir had greatly improved. When I was in Srinagar early in the summer, a general feeling prevailed that an agreed settlement could be reached on the basis of continuing the status quo—that is, no new transfer of territory to Pakistan through a plebiscite or otherwise.

It may be recalled that when the Pakistan army which supported the Afghan tribes raiding Kashmir and the Indian army which undertook to repel it after Kashmir's accession to India stopped fighting on January 1, 1949, the cease-fire line divided the country in a way favorable to India. A status quo settlement would therefore mean that the greater and wealthier part of Kashmir—that is, most of Jammu in the south, the most populous parts of Ladakh in the east and north, and the biggest prize of all, the Vale of Kashmir—would remain under Kashmir-Indian jurisdiction.

One may well ask how this solution could be considered a compromise and not an outright victory for India and Abdullah. India of course would drop its claim to the whole of Kashmir, and Pakistan would retain control of Azad Kashmir. But though New Delhi has talked of an "undivided Kashmir" and of the "restitution of Kashmir territory unlawfully held by Pakistan," it has envisaged, almost from the beginning of the dispute, a solution based on the existing military line. This attitude does not merely represent the acceptance of a not very easily changed *fait accompli;* behind it are substantial political and military arguments. Most of the inhabitants of Azad Kashmir and of the southern districts of Mirpur and Poonch are ethnically quite different from the people in the Vale and Kashmir proper. They are more akin to the Punjabi Moslems in West Pakistan. Moreover, Gilgit and other areas in the north would be difficult to defend; it is the considered view of Indian army leaders that the Kishenganá River which skirts the northwestern tip of the Vale and separates it from Gilgit, should be the line of defense. And if Gilgit and the surrounding territory are of strategic value to other powers, it is said in New Delhi, that is all the more reason to leave it in the hands of Pakistan.

That Pakistan was banking on a plebiscite to give it more than it holds under the status quo has been fairly proved by its refusal to allow the plebiscite to be held while Indian troops were on Kashmir soil. The present deadlock would have been broken long ago if Pakistan had yielded on this point. India has insisted that it is responsible for maintaining law and order in territory accepted as an integral part of India since Kashmir's request for accession to it in 1947, after the Pakistani invasion. Naturally part of the quarrel is about the constitutionality of that accession. New Delhi declares that it took place strictly according to law, the native princes having the right to decide about their states' allegiance. Pakistan, on the other hand, holds that the request for accession made by the ruling prince was not the result of a free decision. But the real question today is why Pakistan should suddenly change its position and indicate a willingness to accept a solution based more or less on a status quo that is to India's advantage.

VARIOUS EXPLANATIONS are offered in Srinagar and New Delhi. One is that Pakistan's internal condition, economic and political, is so precarious that

R. V. THAKUR is an Indian journalist who has recently returned from a special fact-finding mission to Kashmir.

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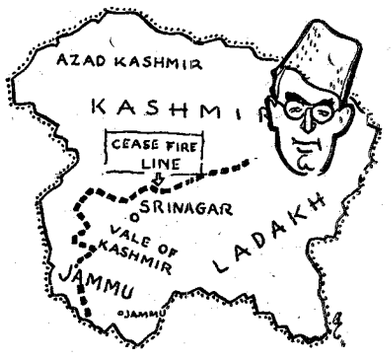
it must seek a modus vivendi with India even if it must renounce its claim to more of Kashmir. Another is that Pakistan realizes the impossibility of getting by military means more than it already has;



It is said that the United States cannot and will not help Pakistan to change the status quo. Some believe that United States policy with regard to Kashmir has changed, and that this change, about which little has been written, has a lot to do with the U. N.'s apparent disengagement from the Kashmir question. In Srinagar it is said that the United States' present policy is the crucial new element in the Kashmir problem.

According to this view, Washington, which in the beginning had toyed with the idea of bringing this strategic area in northwestern India under its control via Pakistan, is now of the opinion that India should not be antagonized for the sake of a policy which in any case has proved abortive, that the Kashmir problem should not be allowed to exacerbate Indian-Pakistan relations any further—the quarrel already renders both countries incapable of playing the role the United States would like to see them play in the cold war—and that the United States' strategic needs in this area, if any, are not likely to be jeopardized by a neutralized India, since the potential sites for air bases are all in Azad Kashmir, which is held by Pakistan. Srinagar seethed with rumors, which I could not substantiate, that active preparations were going on for the construction of air bases in Gilgit.

A variant of this theory is that the State Department, wishing to have a foothold in Kashmir, is encouraging the "nationalists" in Srinagar who would give up Jammu and Ladakh and keep only the Vale—the incomparable Vale of Kashmir—as the homeland of an independent Kashmiri nation. Such a development would have the added advantage of changing the Karachi-New Delhi conflict into a New Delhi-Srinagar conflict, that is, into a domestic quarrel that might well serve as a damper on Nehru's "third area" aspirations but not weaken the anti-Communist–non-Communist front. The Srinagar visit of Adlai Stevenson and that of Mr. Dulles which soon followed are linked with this line. *Blitz*, the popular though somewhat sensational left-wing weekly, recently ran a headline: "Kashmir to Be Cut into Three Portions: Head for Pak, Feet for India, Belly for America," with a subhead which acquires significance from recent happenings: "Abdullah Leadership Divided on Independent-Valley Issue." It is generally thought that Washington wants India and Pakistan to make up their quarrel over Kashmir and not involve the U. N., the United States, or Britain any further in it.

KASHMIR'S future relations with India are in themselves a thorny issue as a result of the peculiar circumstances attending the union of the countries. When the British left India in August, 1947, they arranged for the territories ruled by the native princes to opt for India or for Pakistan or to become independent. Most of the princes chose to join one or the other of the new nation's—independence having ceased to be practical politics. Hari Singh, the Maharajah of Kashmir, hesitated, although as a Hindu ruler of a Moslem state he had every reason to opt for India. The explanation was that he feared Pakistan no more than the Congress Party and Nehru, to whom he had once refused entry to Kashmir when Nehru wanted to lend a hand to Sheik Abdullah's anti-Maharajah movement. Hari Singh finally chose India in order to get aid against the Pakistan-supported tribal raids. The price he paid was to allow Sheik Abdullah and his colleagues to come to the top. Incidentally, the abolition of hereditary rule by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, even before it has finished drafting a constitution, strikingly underscores the Maharajah's dilemma.

After the accession the dominant party in Kashmir, the so-called National Conference, laid increasing emphasis on the limited area of power that had been surrendered. The phrase "residual sovereignty" came to be used more and more, and it was suggested that except in three fields—defense, external relations, and communications—Kashmir was still a sovereign state. With New Delhi's consent, such attributes of a sovereign state as a national flag and an elected head of state were acquired. A movement led by a section of the Hindu minority in Jammu, encouraged by right-wing Hindu communalist parties, supported in part by expropriated Hindu landlords, demanded Kashmir's full integration in India. At the same time the notion of "residual sovereignty" began to stimulate talk in Srinagar about Kashmir's right to self-determination.

INDIA has always insisted that it is willing to let the Kashmiri exercise the right of self-determination, but in the context of India's domestic politics the proposal seems to many Indians highly dangerous. To them Kashmir's accession to India is constitutional and final, like that of other princely states. The crisis became acute when in a number of sensational speeches Sheik Abdullah denounced those persons in India who "feel that we Kashmiris are dependent and eager for India's money or trade or armed forces." "We want to maintain friendly relations with India," he declared, "on the basis of mutual understanding. Threats and taunts that we are wholly dependent on India will not bring us closer." He emphasized that integration with India was only in respect of communication, defense, and external relations, and that in all other matters Kashmir was "completely autonomous." National Conference spokesmen seemed to be stating two propositions: that Kashmir was an autonomous republic within the Indian union, and that it might completely sever its constitutional relations with India. Such statements created much embarrassment for Nehru, and he openly disavowed Abdullah.

Against this background negotiations went on between New Delhi and Srinagar through the summer of 1952, and finally an agreement was reached which reaffirmed in principle Kashmir's integration with India. But the continued agitation by Hindu elements in Kashmir and India raised doubts about the worth of the agreement. Nehru is believed to have gone to Srinagar in May to tell Sheik Abdullah to make up

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his mind, and the fact that he left in smiles indicated that he had achieved a satisfactory accord.

THE POSITION of the two sides can be briefly summarized as follows: Indians have a feeling that all this talk about residual sovereignty and self-determination forecasts Kashmir's eventual secession or perhaps even its integration with Pakistan. Sheik Abdullah and his friends undoubtedly fear that Moslem Kashmir might some day be swamped by a Hindu government of India that replaced Nehru's government. In Srinagar I heard it argued that provisions in the Indian constitution barring expropriation without compensation could nullify Kashmir's agrarian legislation abolishing landlordism. And I was told by a minister that full application of the Indian constitution would mean a retrograde step for "New Kashmir," since untouchability in India had been abolished only for the state, while the Kashmiri constitution would make social discrimination a penal offense. However, the real reason behind the talk of residual sovereignty and the endeavor to keep some way open for cutting Kashmir's ties with India is lack of confidence in the permanence of India's secularism. After Nehru there may be the deluge.

Sheik Abdullah's strength lies first in his having been the head of a progressive government—even though its popularity had worn off a bit—and second in Kashmir's international position. Kashmir's future status—as part of India, as part of Pakistan, or as an independent country—is a vital matter to the world's two great power blocs.

THE WETBACKS

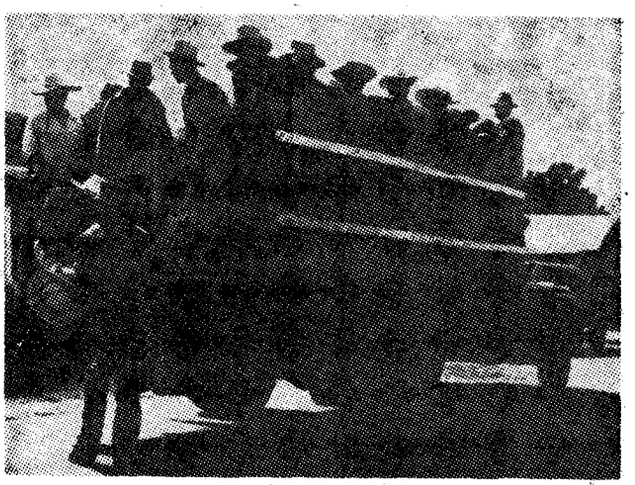
McCarran's Immigrants . . *by Gladwin Hill*

Los Angeles

IN THE time it takes you—or Senator McCarran—to read this report, the United States immigration laws will be violated more than twenty times. But no hue and cry will be raised about it—even by Senator McCarran. Illegal entries into the United States over our 1,600-mile southwestern border from Brownsville, Texas, to San Diego, California, are currently proceeding at the rate of two or more a minute, day and night, seven days a week, but they are tacitly if not actively encouraged by Senator McCarran and many of his colleagues.

While Congress has been debating the advisability of admitting 240,000 European immigrants, an equal number of aliens has been pouring into the United States every ninety days through the southwest gateway, without benefit of any legal sanction. The traffic has increased more than a hundred-fold in a decade and is still rising. Some 618,000 of these illegal entrants were arrested last year. Some 480,000 were arrested in the first half of this year. For every one caught, immigration officers concede, one or more probably get through.

GLADWIN HILL, Los Angeles correspondent of the New York Times, *has given special attention to the wetback story.*



While straining at the gnat of European D. P.'s, Congress swallows this camel under the influence of a persistent myth which runs as follows: These Mexican border-jumpers—called "wetbacks" because many come in by swimming or wading the Rio Grande—are needed in the Southwest owing to the chronic shortage of farm labor. They are not like other immigrants since they go back to Mexico at the end of the season. The wages they take back ameliorate depressed conditions in Mexico—a sort of unofficial foreign-aid plan. Therefore the traffic is not only harmless but beneficial to all concerned.

Senator McCarran, of all people, has been foremost among a number of members of Congress who have explicitly subscribed to this argument. Yet every point of it is wholly or partly false. In the first place, an undue proportion of these "Mexicans" are not Mexicans at all. Exact figures are not available, but immigration officials declare that one rivulet making up the influx is formed of passportless Europeans, often of shady backgrounds. Secondly, thousands of the real Mexicans are not looking for seasonal farm work but simply want to get into the United States to stay. From the border they filter all through the country, converging by preference on the big cities, where employment is more lucrative. They are regularly rounded up by the hundreds in Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Many, however, find a refuge in Spanish-speaking colonies of American citizens. Once they marry a United States citizen, whether or not they have a previous spouse in Mexico, their deportation becomes difficult under a "hardship" clause in the law.

The assumption that these immigrants are harmless is subject to major reserva-

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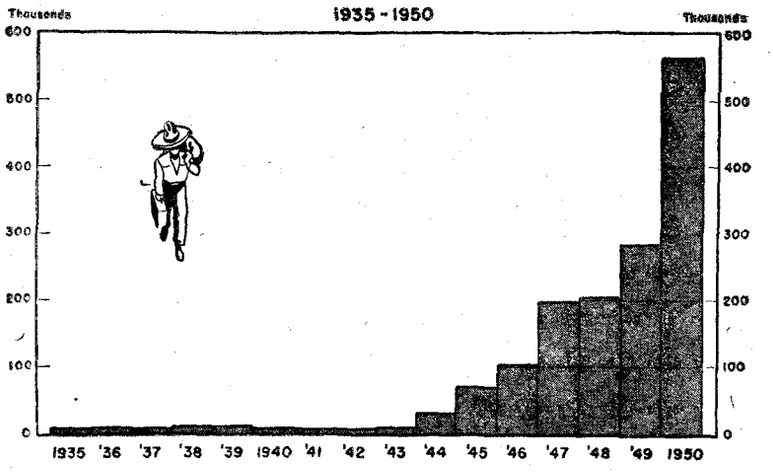
tions. As a group they assay an inordinately high rate of such ailments as venereal disease and tuberculosis. In consequence, their presence is deplored by health officials all the way from Imperial County, California, to Michigan. The argument that Southwestern agriculture needs the wetbacks is completely specious. An inquiry conducted in 1950 by a Presidential Commission on Migratory Labor found that any dearth of farm labor in the region was probably attributable to the fact that the farm operators had never offered wages comparable to those in other work or even in farm work in other parts of the country. Moreover, the federal government has gone to great and controversial lengths to offset a labor shortage through the legalized importation of seasonal Mexican labor under contract.

THE FACT remains that a considerable segment of Southwestern agriculture—notably the farmers of the lower Rio Grande valley, where it is authoritatively estimated that as many as 100,000 wetbacks have been working at one time—agitates unceasingly for maintenance of this labor supply. Through a covey of Texas Congressmen who form the nucleus of an influence bloc in Washington, these farmers have repeatedly advocated "a simple crossing-card system" for Mexican labor, that is, unrestricted circulation back and forth across the border. Intermittently they shed crocodile tears—most recently in paid advertisements in Washington newspapers—at the alleged harsh treatment accorded captured wetbacks by the immigration service. Standard treatment for wetbacks, since they are far too numerous to prosecute as illegal aliens, is to transport them, at the United States taxpayers' expense, back to the Mexican border. Charges of harshness have been contradicted by responsible Mexican sources.

The reason the farmers want the wetbacks is that as fugitives from justice they have to work for whatever they can get—usually for less than 50 cents an hour. The going rate at times has been as low as 15 cents an hour, and some farmers have found it practical, when wages are due, just to turn their workers in to the immigration service for deportation. Immigration officers have stopped this by requiring wage settlements before they take the men away.



The Wetback Invasion
Deportations and Voluntary Departures

Whether the Mexicans net enough to keep them coming back or whether the traffic is sustained by new innocents hopeful of getting a better break is conjectural. There is no evidence that the traffic has helped the Mexican people appreciably. It has been repeatedly condemned by the Mexican government.

Aside from the fact that it is a monstrous example of publicly countenanced law-breaking, the traffic inflicts incalculable economic and social damage on the United States. Wherever they go, wetbacks depress standards of wages and working conditions. In the border states they take both farm and urban jobs away from citizens by the thousand. In some border communities labor leaders hold them responsible for the fact that even such normally strongly unionized trades as building, truck-driving, and food service remain unorganized. Wetback competition has forced many Southwestern families, particularly in Texas, to pull up stakes and join the stream of migrant farm workers who have to keep on the move most of the year to eke out a living.

In the opinion of reputable sociologists, the wetback situation has severely retarded the assimilation into first-class citizenship of the several hundred thousand Spanish-speaking residents of the Southwest, who often find themselves lumped with the invaders as "Mexicans." Concentrations of wetbacks aggravate the housing problem and increase illegitimacy. Countless Mexican women whose specialty is not farm work have been picked up in saloons in California's Imperial Valley.

What is the solution? The immigration service has fewer than 1,000 men to patrol the 1,600-mile border. Even if it had 10,000, it could not set up an impenetrable barrier in that desert region. The penalty for illegal entry—now imprisonment for up to two years—could not conceivably be increased to the point where it would be an effective deterrent. Even the death penalty, common in the early days when the border patrol used to shoot at wetbacks, did not stem the tide.

THE OBVIOUS answer is to eliminate the incentive to border-jumping—employment. Although hiring a wetback is tantamount to harboring a fugitive from justice, the present law imposes no penalty for doing it. The Presidential Commission on Migratory Labor recommended in 1951 that the practice be subject to injunctions and restraining orders, that employers be punished by imprisonment and fines and barred from obtaining legal Mexican contract labor, and that their produce be barred from interstate commerce. But all efforts to strengthen the law along these lines have been successfully opposed by members of Congress who indorse the wetback myth.

There is at last before Congress a proposal to carry out the first of the commission's recommendations on farm labor—the establishment of a permanent federal inter-agency committee to coordinate measures dealing with migrant problems. Pending such legislation, wetbacks will in all probability continue to make a mockery of the immigration laws and pour across the border in ever-increasing numbers.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

France on Strike

Paris

READERS of *The Nation* will recall that on returning to Europe this spring I wrote that France was entering on a period of social disorder (The French Workers Wake Up, *The Nation,* May 16). The signs of mounting unrest were unmistakable, but it was then generally believed that no serious demonstrations would occur until fall. Already, however, in the first half of August, we have witnessed the most extensive strikes since 1936. First the postal, telegraph, and telephone workers walked out, followed twenty-four hours later by the civil servants and public-utilities employees. Only the failure to spread the strike to private industry prevents it from being called a general strike. While there has been no violence, the strikes, as Kingsley Martin points out in *The New Statesman and Nation,* "have that amorphous, comprehensive, and unpredictable appearance that has so often foreshadowed a coming revolution." At this writing, some of the momentum seems to have been lost but there is no doubt that the workers of France, with these strikes, have gone into battle.

In judging the purpose and strength of this widespread movement of protest, Americans should remember that the strikes were not ordered by the Communists. It was not the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) which acted first but the exclusively Socialist Force Ouvrière, whose seventy-seven-year-old head, Léon Jouhaux, is one of the most experienced and responsible labor leaders in France.

In Italy, too, the strikes which have spread through five northern and central provinces were in part responsible for the failure of Attilio Piccioni to form a Cabinet; these strikes were called by the non-Communist Union of Italian Workers. The Socialists took the initiative; the Communists followed. In Italy as in France men whose opposition to communism is well known are directing labor's current war on rightist governments.

The political motivations are clear. In France the strikes represent a protest against the special powers which the parliament, despite the warning of the Socialists, finally granted to the Laniel ministry. In Italy the workers have served notice that they will not permit another rightist government to disregard the wishes of millions of Italians as expressed in the last elections. To the Italian workers, the invitation to Piccioni to form a Cabinet was viewed simply as a political maneuver for setting up a De Gasperi regime without De Gasperi.

Of course the political reasons for these strikes were reinforced by economic ones. The French workers fear that the new special powers will enable a government controlled by big business to make them pay for the economies it wishes to introduce in order to balance the budget, save the franc, and fulfil its obligations to NATO.

IN SPITE of the efforts of successive French governments, prices have risen steadily while wages have remained almost stationary. If even American tourists find Paris so expensive this summer that they stay only a day or two instead of several weeks, as they did in other years, and hurry on to Spain, Austria, and Holland, it is not surprising that French workingmen are at the end of their tether. Even conservative newspapers in Great Britain and the United States have pointed out that the new consumer levies—hidden, indirect taxes—account for 70 cents of every French tax dollar. Not only have these levies priced certain French goods out of the world market, but almost the only Frenchmen paying both direct and indirect taxes are the wage-earners who make up 75 per cent of the 3,800,000 who pay any income taxes at all. Workers have to pay because their salaries are reported weekly to the finance ministry. But for farmers, business, and professional men, the rule seems to be "cash on the barrelhead and no entries in the books."

This time it cannot be said that the trouble has been instigated by Moscow, though Moscow will try to reap the advantage. Many people have clung to the belief that if the government would only crack down on the Communists it could solve the country's difficulties. But now it must be equally severe with the Socialists. And not only with the Socialists. In every one of the recent strikes the Catholic workers have marched out with their fellow workers. Communists, Socialists, and Catholics have joined together. The issue is so clear in the French strikes that the most conservative papers—the *Wall Street Journal* is a case in point—concede that they cannot be labeled "Communist-inspired" and, what is more important, acknowledge that no amount of additional foreign-aid would in itself offset the effects of a ruinous fiscal policy which finds subsidies to private interest groups, including exporters, alcohol distillers, etc., swelling to $928 millions annually or 9 per cent of the nation's budget.

Where, then, can a French government find working-class support for a policy of carrying out its obligations to NATO and of continuing the war in Indo-China? Since the Korean truce has been signed, the Indo-Chinese war seems more senseless than ever, and the effort to build up a military force beyond the capacities of the country has become intolerable. And to Indo-China must be added the flare-up in Morocco. The problem of Europe is, indeed, more complex than Secretary Dulles thinks.

At this writing there has been no break in the strikes; no additional unions have gone out, but no progress pointing toward an early settlement has been noted. But even if the walk-outs are settled, their causes will remain and these causes cannot be dealt with by emergency decrees which impose ever greater burdens on the French workers.

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BOOKS

Puritans into Merchants

THE NEW ENGLAND MIND: FROM COLONY TO PROVINCE. By Perry Miller. Harvard University Press. $6.50.

By Kenneth B. Murdock

PERRY MILLER'S "The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century," published in 1939, promptly established itself as a landmark in American historical scholarship. "A topical analysis of various leading ideas in colonial New England," it is the best study ever written of "the architecture of the intellect brought to America by the founders of New England," a masterly exegesis and interpretation of the Puritan intellectual system, English and American. Mr. Miller called it the first volume of "a projected series upon the intellectual history of New England." "The New England Mind: From Colony to Province" is the second of the series and a worthy successor to the first. It reveals once more the author's erudition and his shrewd insight into what lies beneath the surface in hundreds of Puritan books, and its theme gives its author a chance for some lively and dramatic writing for which there was less place in the earlier work. That was primarily expository; this is essentially a narrative of how the Puritan scheme of thought, which once seemed all-sufficient, was changed and at last virtually destroyed by the American experience of the colonists from the 1640's to 1730. It is both a sequel and a supplement to the 1939 volume, and it is good news that the latter is to be reprinted next year.

At the beginning Mr. Miller points out that the first Puritans in the Bay Colony never anticipated "that children conceived and educated in Massachusetts and Connecticut would become preoccupied, not with universal Christendom, but with provincial merchandise." But many of them did. The story of how and why "a middle-class, empirical, enterprising society could emerge out of an aristocratic, teleological order" and how the Jeremiad was used as the best literary weapon against innovation is the central thread of the book. The defenders of the old order fought hard and showed, as did their adversaries, a rare talent for "difficult acrobatics" in thought and argument, but nothing the most ingenious of them could write did much to arrest the inevitable change—first the "Declension" from the old faith, then "Confusion," the "Splintering of Society," and the "Socialization of Piety" in "a parched land crying for deliverance from the hold of ideas that had served their purpose and died." By 1730, on the eve of Jonathan Edwards's "God Glorified in the Work of Redemption, by the Greatness of Man's Dependence upon Him," the old theological and philosophic structure which once had seemed proof against all storms was pretty well smashed. Its materials, warped and hacked out of shape, waited a new builder who could make use of them to construct an intellectual and moral system suited to the new needs and aspirations of Massachusetts.

IT IS A fascinating tale. As Mr. Miller tells it, it involves the most exciting episodes of a century of Massachusetts history. The debates about the Half-Way Covenant, the witchcraft madness, disputes about currency and inoculation—all these are adroitly related to the upsetting of the old New England way. There are good pages on the uneasy efforts of some colonial leaders to appear loyal subjects of Great Britain while they tried to defend a traditional intolerance which defied English authority. There is also a penetrating discussion of how new scientific attitudes affected New England thinking. Mr. Miller admits that the scene may seem "merely provincial" and the events "so small as to be trivial." But this is so only if one looks at the trees and not the wood. Both the colonial setting and the happenings, large and small, which make the story are concrete manifestations of a quest of major significance, an intellectual pilgrimage in search of a set of fundamental principles with which an important American community could develop intelligently and insure its material and spiritual prosperity.

Mr. Miller's recognition of the fact that much that he describes may seem, from a narrow point of view, "trivial" may account for his occasional indulgence in what seem to be exaggerations and a few passages in which he seems to strive unduly for stylistic effect. It is surely going too far to say that "the one literary type which the first native-born Americans [he means, of course, New Englanders] inevitably developed, into which they poured their energy and passion, was the fast-day sermon," characteristically a Jeremiad. Surely passion and energy sometimes went into other literary molds, and it is most unlikely that the Jeremiads were in the middle decades of the seventeenth century "virtually the only works for which there was a domestic sale." Boston printers produced between 1639 and 1660 or 1670 a good deal else as worthy to be called literary as the Jeremiads, and unless the publishers were more unwary than most, there must have been some domestic sale. To describe the utterances of the defenders of the charter in the 1680's as "shrieks" or Cotton Mather as "shrieking" when he let fly a bit of rhetoric no more inflamed than most of what was then conventionally used in theological debate, to say that Randolph was "nauseated" by what he found in New England, or to suggest that Cotton Mather may be "the most nauseous human being" of the period, is to use language more violent than the occasion seems to warrant and savors of an indulgence in "expressions . . . too warm or harsh," such as those Edward Wigglesworth apologized for in his own writing more than two centuries ago. Benjamin Colman was an interesting man and an important one in Mr. Miller's narrative, but to call one of his books "a fine, a truly magnificent, piece of writing" is too extravagant praise for a work which, for all its nobility of sentiment and grace of style, seems to most readers hardly a specimen of "magnificence."

KENNETH B. MURDOCK, professor of English at Harvard, is the author of "Literature and Theology in Colonial New England" and other books.

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Such lapses as these, if lapses they are, are the defects of Mr. Miller's virtues. His zealous interest in his subject and his profound realization of its significance may lead him to a few exaggerations and stylistic excesses; for the most part they lead to clear and lively writing. He concentrates so intensely on the main line of his study that he sometimes seems to forget that he should not say "America" or "Americans" when he means merely New England and its denizens, or "people" or "the mass of the people" unless he makes it clear whether the phrases include simply the colonial laymen who still took notes on sermons or also those who remained indifferent in the meeting-house, or even those ("people" after all) who behaved badly on Boston Common and in dock-side taverns. His subject is the "New England" mind, but we hear little or nothing of Rhode Island, Maine, or New Hampshire. Perhaps they are left out because, as Mr. Miller warns us, "mind" means for him in these pages "what was done and said publicly." Most of the most important saying and doing went on in Boston, or was clearly audible or visible from there.

THE BOOK deals with events rather than men, but there are some brilliant character portraits—that of John Wise, for example, and the sketch of Solomon Stoddard, which brings him to life as a major force in the action. With the Mathers, Increase and Cotton, whose words echo on almost every page, the author's touch is less sure and we feel that he has not made up his mind firmly enough to enable us to make up ours. Dr. Douglass, too, the Mathers' chief opponent in the inoculation controversy, is a hard nut to crack. It helps little to be told that he gloated when inoculation was forbidden, although he knew it was a successful medical measure, but in another connection showed "his rugged Scots honesty."

No reader interested in human behavior, thought, or the vicissitudes of history will find this book dull, unless he shuts his eyes to what the author calls the "representative" quality of the tale, its value as a "case-history of the accommodation to the American landscape of an imported and highly articulated system of ideas," an accommodation involving at every turn the deeds and emotions of men and women no better and no worse than we ourselves. Mr. Miller goes farther and claims that the narrative "amounts to a working model for American history." Perhaps, but if this statement is meant to be as sweeping as it sounds, we need proof. It is devoutly to be hoped that Mr. Miller will give it to us in one or, better still, two more volumes carrying the record of the New England mind through the time of Edwards and into the days of the Transcendentalists. No one else has such proved fitness for the task.

New Books in Brief

Missionaries' Return

FIVE STARS OVER CHINA. By Mary Austin Endicott. Published by the author and distributed by Far Eastern Newsletter, Toronto. $2.

For the Western world and especially for the English-speaking countries there is an extremely important difference between the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Communist Revolution, a difference illustrated by this book. There were no large-scale missionary movements to convert the old Russia from Greek Orthodox Christianity to Roman Catholicism or Protestantism; but in the case of China thousands of returned missionaries are playing an important part in shaping public opinion in their home countries because they can say, "I know. I lived there for years. I know the people. I know the language."

A great majority of these returned missionaries are bitterly hostile to the Chinese Communists; many are also critical of the government and the social order overthrown by the Communists; some are ardent supporters of Chiang Kai-shek; and a small minority accept the new rulers and believe that what they have done and plan to do is good.

Mrs. Endicott and her husband belong to this minority. Mrs. Endicott was a missionary in China for twenty-two years. Her husband was born there, of missionary parents. He worked as an adviser to Chiang Kai-shek in 1939-40 and became disillusioned with the top leadership of the Kuomintang; "he found their talk of democracy was a façade to hide their greed and colossal corruption." In 1946 he resigned as a missionary of the United Church of Canada. He has since become an important figure in the Peace Congress movement which supports Soviet peace campaigns. This book records a visit to China by Mr. and Mrs. Endicott in 1952.

Every reader has to form his own estimate of the relative hard-headedness or soft-headedness of the author of a book warmly sympathetic to a revolutionary regime that has attained power as the outcome of violent civil war. It is obvious that Mr. and Mrs. Endicott were looking for constructive achievements and not for atrocities. Granted this, the most important material in the book is that based on meetings with old Chinese friends—Christians, teachers, business men, former officials under Chiang Kai-shek—whom they found working enthusiastically for the new government. Such material obviously does not prove that the Communists have been guilty of no atrocities or excesses; but it is of value in showing that the new government does have the uncoerced support of many of those whom foreigners resident in China used to consider the most able, modern, and public-spirited Chinese.

Letters to Gertrude Stein

THE FLOWERS OF FRIENDSHIP. Letters Written to Gertrude Stein. Edited by Donald Gallup. Knopf. $5.

Because Miss Stein called her autobiography the life of somebody else, there is something appropriate in the obliquity which determines that this volume of letters should be composed exclusively of those *to* not *from* her. According to the editor, she seems to have kept almost every letter she ever received, including the semi-literate notes from her Paris concierge which are now reposing with the rest at Yale. Here are five hundred or more missives ranging in time from 1895 to 1946 and written by a bewildering number of individuals, nearly all more or less notable in letters or the arts. Some, like those from Hemingway about the magazine *Transatlantic* or from Carl Van Vechten about the success of "Four

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Saints," supply footnotes to literary history. An amazing number are from personages to whom she had sent copies of her books, and an amazing number of these are of the I-am-anxious-to-read-it-as-soon-as-I-find-time sort usually so distressing to authors. A passage in a letter from John Dewey should be useful as a model for those who receive presentation copies of puzzling works: "I don't pretend to appreciate what you are doing, but I am much interested—as well as perplexed. . . . I have too much respect for the possibilities of aesthetic development to reject just because I don't grasp." This is more polite than that other famous formula: "I have received your book and shall lose no time in reading it."

Mural Expressionist

MAN OF FIRE: J. C. OROZCO. AN INTERPRETATIVE MEMOIR. By MacKinley Helm. Harcourt, Brace. $7.50.

The subtitle of this book accurately describes its character. Although it is the first full-dress review of Orozco's career published since his death in 1949, it is in no sense a definitive monograph. The tone is journalistic; often it is chatty like a travel book. Sentimentality mars its value as a personal memoir. While there is every reason to applaud Helm's championship of Orozco as against Rivera, his claim of greatness for the maestro he so reveres is more protested than critically substantiated. In part the difficulty is intrinsic to Orozco himself: a dominance of idea over form, which Orozco resolved too rarely on occasions like the early frescoes at the National Preparatory School, Mexico City (1926), and the grandiose murals over the staircase of the Government Palace at Guadalajara (1936-39).

FIVE STARS OVER CHINA

by MARY AUSTIN ENDICOTT

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Helm vacillates between the primacy of art over life and of life over art, though with Orozco he prefers the latter. Certain it is that Orozco was in trouble when he had no clear-cut social message to convey, as for example in the mammoth National Allegory for the open-air theater of the National Normal School, Mexico City (1947-48), and the early murals for the New School for Social Research, New York (1930), which were, as Helm shows, disastrously influenced by the then prevailing fad for the theories of dynamic symmetry. On the whole, Orozco properly emerges from this text as a major expressionist who carried expressionism to the mural scale. His art is the very antithesis of Poussin's classic measure. As Helm amply indicates, El Greco was his spiritual progenitor. Orozco possessed, however, the intellectual foundations of neither of these great masters. As a result his art was terribly uneven in quality and subject to damaging influence from alien quarters.

Father of Naturalism

EMILE ZOLA. By F. W. J. Hemmings. Oxford. $6.

We have become so accustomed to associating Emile Zola with the Dreyfus case and *J'Accuse* that it is good to have him again in perspective as the author of "Les Rougon-Macquart" and the undisputed father of "naturalism." Professor Hemmings asks us to see Zola, in our time, as a singularly relevant figure because he was "the first writer to show a society in which the aggregate was greater than the separate unit." And, adds Hemmings, Zola was the "prophet of a new age of mass psychology, mass analysis, mass education, and mass entertainment, an age in which the part is never greater than the whole."

His admirable study, unpretentiously documented with much new material, amply bears out this view. There was already a suggestion of a need for a reevaluation in last year's pithy introduction to Zola by Angus Wilson. Hemmings, writing a larger study, is able to give us the step-by-step growth of Zola's many-volumed masterpiece and to show us the evolution of the historian of materialistic man from his early aesthetic beginnings to his espousal of "natural laws" of determinism, the pseudo-Darwinianism of his epoch, and the therapeutics of Claude Bernard.

With Zola the novel said farewell, so to speak, to its Julien Sorels and Eugène de Rastignacs and discovered the anti-hero, who was to become Dreiser's Clyde Griffiths or Faulkner's Joe Christmas. Much that we still are discussing in our fiction today stems from Zola. It is for this reason that Hemmings rightly suggests that the "age that Zola wrote of is, without the least doubt, our own age."

Moralityand Realpolitik

IDEALS AND SELF-INTEREST IN AMERICA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS. By Robert E. Osgood. University of Chicago. $6.50.

In discussions of foreign affairs the old and often sterile debate between "isolationists" and "internationalists" is giving way to a more fruitful disputation between the apostles of "national interest" and the defenders of the "legalistic-moralistic abstractions" which George F. Kennan regards as the bane of American diplomacy. Young and talented Robert Osgood, formerly of Harvard and now of Hans J. Morgenthau's Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy, has here made a notable contribution to the clarification of the issue. His method is to review in some detail the interrelationships between the two themes of his title in the formulation of policy in the "first crusade" (the Spanish-American War), the "second crusade" (World War I), and the "war for survival" (World War II).

This is a rich, suggestive, and well-documented work. The author's final warning deserves wide attention: "If the American people become so transfixed by their fears of communism that they forget what they are for in their obsession with what they are against; if the only standard of national conduct they demand of their leaders is that every national act manifest a moral judgment against communism, regardless of the consequences; . . . then they will, in large measure, abdicate control of their own affairs. . . . Superficial ideological consistency is a formula for disaster."

Osgood's conclusion is that America must learn to serve its moral purposes in the long run and to be "realistic" in the short run. Few will quarrel with the

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synthesis. But Kennan's formula is perhaps more useful: policy must serve interests and should never be directed toward the vindication or imposition of ethical values on others, since this is conducive to holy wars which can never be won—as Lawrence Dennis cogently argues in his weekly letter, *The Appeal to Reason*. Yet ethics should serve as a restraint on action dictated by interest. Machiavelli concurs.

Big-City Low Life

THE CITY OF ANGER. By William Manchester. Ballantine Books. $3, cloth; 50 cents, paper.

Mr. Manchester, an excellent reporter and the biographer of H. L. Mencken, knows his material in this story of organized vice and crime in a typical American city. As fiction the social panorama is more convincing than are the individual characters, and the scenes of high society are rather stereotyped. But the novel is still in the tradition of Ira Wolfert's "Tucker's People." It does an excellent job in describing the lower depths of life in a big city and the real sources of social and economic corruption. Mr. Manchester has political insight and obvious courage.

Parable of Two Brothers

THE MOUNTAIN. By Henri Troyat. Translated by Constantine Fitz Gibbon. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

This novella with its symbolic struggle of pure and primitive man against guile, on the one hand, and the brute force of nature, on the other, is reminiscent of many things, most of them Biblical. The writing, though suited to the theme, is in nowise inspiring or lofty; yet it does not diminish, by clumsiness, the impact of this essentially simple parable of two brothers who search for—and find—their separate grails on a mountain.

Isaiah, the good brother, is a shepherd about fifty years old who had been a skilled guide until a fall had somewhat diminished his judgment. Marcellin, the Cain of the tale, is some twenty years younger, in fact was brought into the world by Isaiah, who attended their mother as midwife. The one, accepting his fate and clinging to instinctual goodness, worships the other as the dull often worship their leader. But when a plane crashes on the glacier far above their hamlet and Marcellin persuades Isaiah to guide him to the spot to rifle the pockets of the dead, something, some veil which has obscured his vision, is drawn aside in the good brother's mind and he repudiates Marcellin in the very act of pillage.

The climb up to the crash spot is remarkably communicated, the only really distinguished passage in the brief tale. And the twist of fate whereby the brothers come on one lone survivor, an exotic and fragile Hindu woman, brings the story to fitting climax and close.

HEDGEROW THEATER

I HAVE just spent the better part of a week with the Hedgerow Theater Players in Moylan-Rose Valley near Philadelphia. Only an interested few in this country have ever heard of Hedgerow, though its fame has spread to Europe. Bernard Shaw gave it an accolade fifteen years ago. "It is in repertory theaters such as Hedgerow in the United States and Malvern in England," said the master, "that the whole thing is kept alive."

Do not confuse the Moylan enterprise with one of those ephemeral companies that help people to endure the midsummer boredom of seashore or mountain resorts. Hedgerow is a true, all-the-year-round, repertory theater, the longest-lived one in America. The Hedgerow Players keep in constant rehearsal a collection of fine American and foreign dramas which they put on in rotation. They never strive for a long run or a smash hit. Each July they hold an annual Shaw Festival, which is the crowning point of their year's hard work.

Of the four Festival plays I saw three —"Too True to Be Good," "Heartbreak House," and "Man and Superman." "Too True" is an infrequently given play that always makes the textbook critics foam at the mouth. You know their hoary anti-Shavian jibes: "The play has no plot, no subject, no theme; the action is illogical and fantastic; the hotel maid has more lovers than the Kinsey Report allows: Colonel Tallboys behaves as stupidly as a greenhorn private while Private Meek behaves as cleverly as Colonel Lawrence of Arabia; and the beautiful heroine, having stolen her own pearl necklace, sells it to support a gigolo with whom she never even goes to bed. Now I ask you, can a play be a play with such wild incongruities?" I fear the criticism is only too true. It is too true to be good, for Shaw is a transcendent genius who can break all the rules triumphantly.

At Hedgerow the proof of the pudding was in the playing. Jane Lekberg, as the poor little rich girl who has been killing herself leading a life of intoxicating pleasure, entranced us by threatening to murder anyone who should stop her from turning to creative work. Grant Code as Colonel Tallboys showed us, as never before, how War Office regulations turn a man into a soldier by suppressing the man. Ralph Roseman was the ideal ex-soldier turned burglar who would rather be a preacher than a rascal.

"HEARTBREAK HOUSE" is a dramatic tone poem, like Richard Strauss's "Also Sprach Zarathustra," with key sentences instead of key themes, and with thoughts too deep for words loading its high-spirited, paradoxical dialogue. The Hedgerow production came nearer to this musical mood than any London or New York performance I have seen. The responsible director was David Metcalf, who has had a notable success as John Tanner and Don Juan in "Man and Superman."

The play pictures the moral bankruptcy of the cultured upper classes in any country you please. The denizens of Heartbreak House play with culture as their Horseback Hall kinsmen play with horses (in America with golf clubs). Both sets make their respective games more piquant and exciting by hitching them to a romantic preoccupation with sex. The Heartbreak amorists, or cultured talkers, are greater failures than the Horseback numbskulls, or generals and politicians, because the numbskulls do not comprehend the realities of life or government, whereas the Heartbreak time-killers, versed in philosophy, art, and science, know what is wrong with the ship of state but are too sunk in fastidious hedonism to help the captain keep the ship off the rocks.

It is a Hedgerow maxim that the whole performance must be greater than the sum of its performing parts. The

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company lives up to it. In addition, every single performer threw new light on the part he played. I regret that space does not permit me to be more specific.

THE MAGNIFICENT performance of "Man and Superman," including the entire scene in hell, lasted from 7:30 till after midnight. For both actors and spectators the five solid hours of bombardment by Shaw's comedic brilliance represented a triumph of art over human nature. Audrey Wood's interpretation of Ann Whitefield was highly original. By making her Ann truly Shavian, she also made her much more sympathetic than any of her forerunners have done. When Ann was first played by Lillah McCarthy, the fury of the world of women knew no bounds. All they saw in Ann was the woman who got her man by fair means or foul; no lie, trick, scheme, or ruse was too base if it baited the trap. Miss Wood's originality lay in remembering the Life Force grip. As we know, when Tanner capitulates to Ann, he pleads that he is in the grip of the Life Force. Well, is not Ann, the relentless pursuer, in the same grip? Playing the part as a woman possessed, a woman whom the Life Force drives into getting the best possible father for her child, Miss Wood was able to put over Ann's treasons, stratagems, and spoils without sacrificing her virgin loveliness.

A word about Jasper Deeter, the father of the Hedgerow enterprise. Mr. Deeter left the Provincetown Players thirty years ago to found a genuine repertory theater at Moylan. He is one of those energetic pioneering spirits whose passionate sincerity attracts ardent supporters. Eva LeGallienne and Ann Harding were among the first aspiring players to dedicate themselves to the Hedgerow repertory venture. Deeter's dream has developed into the present community of actors and actresses who live, work, and play together as members of one family. Acting is only the first of their occupations. In their spare time they build, paint, make the beds, wash the dishes, and cook their own food. The chief advantage of this communal professional living is that every member of the group can learn all he can grasp of acting, speaking, casting, directing, lighting, costume-making—everything comprised in the one word, theater. In reviewing the Shaw plays—a very small part of the whole repertory, remember—I have tried to convey a faint idea of the high theatrical workmanship resulting from Hedgerow activity. Hedgerow is a native institution that Americans will yet boast of.

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ANOTHER record of Elizabethan keyboard music, all played on the harpsichord (EMS 236), offers another "In Nomine" by Bull, which is not as impressive as the one on London LL-712; but a Pavana by Bull is a superb piece, as are a Farnaby "setting" of another Pavana by Robert Johnson and a Fantasia by Morley; and the other pieces are pleasant. The performances are outstandingly good—Charles Koenig being one of the players whose phrasing creates the cohesive tensions that give music continuous life in performance. The recorded sound is excellent but too loud.

Bach's Cantata No. 146 "Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal" (Bach Guild 525) begins with an overture which is the opening movement of his great Concerto in D minor, with its solo part played this time on the organ, and continues with its wonderful slow movement on which is superimposed a beautiful choral part. These, and the concluding chorale, I find moving; the portions for the vocal soloists I do not. The performance in which Prohaska conducts the Vienna State Opera Orchestra and Viennese chorus and soloists is good.

The opening chorus of Bach's St. Matthew Passion, the Chorale Fantasia on "O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross" at the end of Part 1, and the concluding chorus, together with a number of the chorales, are performed by the chorus and orchestra of the Danish State Radio under Wöldike (Haydn Society 2070). The contrapuntal texture is clear, but the sopranos sound a little shrill at times (which may be the fault of the phonograph I use in the country). My ear can detect no realization of the figured bass, and no accompanying of the chorales by woodwinds and strings, as my Eulenburg score directs.

The pieces by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1634-1704) on another Haydn Society record (2065) that "constitute a perfect reflection of the magnificence of Versailles, with allusions to the grandeur of Louis XIV himself"—the Te Deum, Marche de triomphe, and Air de trompette—I don't care for. But the quieter Troisième Leçon de tenèbres du vendredy saint and Oculi Omnium in Te Sperant are quite lovely. The trumpets get to be ear-piercing; but otherwise the performances by members of the Pasdeloup Orchestra and other French musicians under Louis-Martini are good.

Haydn's Missa Brevis Sancti Joannis de Deo, previously issued by Lyrichord, is now issued by the Haydn Society (2064), performed this time by the Copenhagen Boys' and Men's Choir and a boy soprano, Kurt Frederiksen, with the Chamber Orchestra of the Palace Chapel under Wöldike. It is an engaging small-scale work, with very moving slow passages in the part of the Credo dealing with the Crucifixion; and the performance is excellent. On the reverse side are six fine songs by Haydn for mixed voices, sung well by the

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Chamber Choir of the Danish State Radio.

Two of Delius's loveliest pieces, "The Walk to the Paradise Garden" and "Brigg Fair," are played beautifully by the London Symphony under Anthony Collins. On the same record (London LL-758) are the excessively repetitious "On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring" and "A Song of Summer," which I don't care for.

A READER advises against the Garrard manual assembly, having found that "the metal plate on which the motor and arm are mounted transmits vibration to the arm and produces very disturbing motor rumble; and the arm itself, which is different from and inferior to the arm on the Garrard automatic changer, tracks badly." He thinks one can do better by taking the trouble to buy a good separate motor and arm and mount them on a base; and suggests, again on the basis of experience, the General Industries DR, a good 4-pole 2-speed (78 and 33) motor, and a Clarkstan arm, mounted on a heavy plywood base, at a total cost of about $37. "If the motor is mounted with washers between the metal and the wood at the points where the motor is screwed down, the motor rumble will be negligible."

And I forgot to mention that the Sun Radio catalogue contains an offer to provide free of charge the interconnecting cables and plugs (with plugs and sockets color-coded to prevent error in connections) for any group of components bought by mail. Presumably this is a service which all such supply houses are now willing to perform.

What Halsey Stevens writes about Bartok himself, in "The Life and Music of Bela Bartok" (Oxford, $7.50), is very moving; and those who are interested in his music (I am interested but continue to find it inaccessible to my mind) will profit by Stevens's exhaustive analysis of it.

CORRECTION: We regret that an error occurred in S. Lane Faison's art column in the issue of August 1. The sentence beginning "Among these is one of a series of perfectly preserved Romanesque capitals" should have read, "One of a series of perfectly preserved Romanesque capitals is included. . . ." —EDITORS THE NATION.

Letters

Disappointed Reader

Dear Sirs: I was deeply impressed by *The Nation's* publication on June 6, 1953, of Norman Redlich's and Laurent B. Frantz's excellent piece Does Silence Mean Guilt? I am all the more shocked by Bruce Catton's article, Bishop Oxnam, Witness for Decency, in your issue of August 1, 1953.

The invaluable service of Does Silence Mean Guilt? was to explain why in practically every case a witness before Congressional committees today has no choice but to invoke the Fifth Amendment if he wants to avoid going to jail either for contempt of Congress or for "perjury" based on the testimony of the government's professional witnesses, or if he refuses to become an informer against people with whom for whatever innocent reasons in the past he may have been associated. Thousands of reprints of this article have been circulated out here and have I am sure won many new friends for *The Nation.*

Now Bruce Catton tries to make a hero out of a man who turns out to be anything but that. For clearing his own name Bishop Oxnam let himself be induced to discuss two of his fellow-ministers with the committee in such a way as to confirm its allegations regarding these men's "subversive" attitudes. One of them, Dr. Harry F. Ward, is a venerable figure in Methodism; the other, the Reverend Jack R. McMichael, as deeply religious a person as I ever want to meet, was until recently executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, an organization long harassed by the witch-hunters for its forthright adherence to the social gospel of Jesus.

Bruce Catton does not even mention the fact that Bishop Oxnam discussed the opinions of these two clergymen with the committee on the basis of derogatory testimony by witnesses of the committee. He does not mention the fact that Reverend McMichael, on the basis of Oxnam's remarks, was subpoenaed to come to Washington, where, faced by the threat of the bishops of his church that they would not support him if he stood on the Fifth Amendment, he tried to prove the lies of his professional accusers. His chances are slim indeed, as Redlich and Frantz have pointed out previously. If he should become the first minister to go to jail in the present inquisition, he can thank the man whom Bruce Catton calls a "witness for decency."

If ever a man had the golden opportunity, backed as he is by all of America's Protestants, to live up to the prophetic tradition of his religion and to put the modern inquisitors in their place, Bishop Oxnam had that opportunity. He threw it away and as I. F. Stone so aptly put it in his *Weekly Letter* of August 1, 1953, "gave the witch hunt open sesame to the pulpit."

For Bruce Catton thus to have distorted Oxnam's sorry performance is bad enough. For *The Nation* to have given this distortion full publicity is to me and, I am sure, to many faithful readers, a real disappointment.

Los Angeles MARTIN HALL

Senator Morse on Bargains

Dear Sirs: In the August 8, 1953, issue of *The Nation* you discussed my decision to vote with the Republicans on the issue of organizing the Senate. You said in part: "The fact that reactionary influences so largely overlap the line which in theory is supposed to set Democrats sharply apart from Republicans is what makes Senator Morse's personal problem every American liberal's dilemma. But we trust that Morse drove a sharp bargain with the Republican leadership. . . ."

In reply to your editorial, I wish to make clear that I did not make a bargain, sharp or otherwise, with the Republican leadership. I never make a bargain with anyone or with any group in respect to my vote in the Senate of the United States. There is only one principle I follow in voting, and that is to exercise an honest independence of judgment on the merits of issues in accordance with the facts as I see them. I have never traded my vote or committed my vote to anyone—and I never shall. In fact, one of my severest criticisms of the Senate is that there are entirely too many men in it who are willing to drive sharp bargains in connection with their voting in the Senate, and thereby they cease to be free men in the Senate. It is just as wrong for a liberal to drive a sharp bargain in connection with his voting and thereby become guilty of placing his vote on the political auction block as it is for "party first" politicians to vote in

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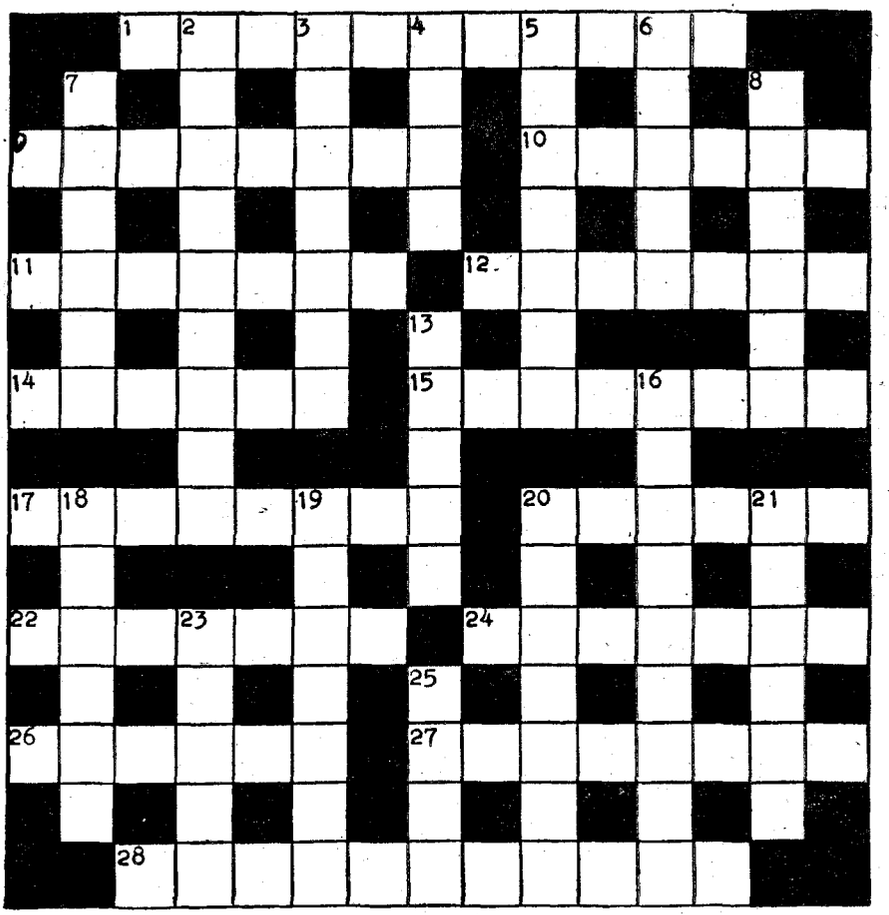
Crossword Puzzle No. 529

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Charges spell no part of this! (11)
9 This gives a fish vessel a heavy wind. (4, 4)
10 There's no rest for them—being over the head of 9! (6)
11 A distortion, but not a lie, as an oblique way to secure things. (7)
12 Duck in back? Its association with 14 is pretty much that of riff-raff. (3–4)
14 Does it show the price of old clothes? (3–3)
15 It's crazy to go around as the thing one expects on the editorial page. (8)
17, 4 down, and 20 across. Implying the way of Caesar is universal. (3, 5, 4, 2, 4)
20 See 17.
22 Polish equipment that took the shock? (7)
24 Not many words like 26 fall in this classification, when it comes to genuine dislike. (7)
26 Like olives, for example? (6)
27 Is the backward white-collar class, as well as part of the non-backward. (8)
28 Peculiar curse that is taken away and changed at twilight. (11)

DOWN

2 Things on a mountain that might increase the sound. (9)
3 Got up in a way, like a pigeon? (7)
4 See 17 across.
5 Rush to a game, perhaps. (7)
6 Sometimes held up and down. (5)
7 An animal comes up to the old man in the building. (6)
8 Three horses abreast, what they pull, or the whole works! (6)
13 Entertain Erato, for example? (5)
16 A chairman who gets upset about nothing still responds to blows. (9)
18 One who praises a comedian? (6)
19 A crafty manner? (7)
20 A tune no body could compose. (7)
21 Time of distress for 19? (3, 3)
23 With a big enough bag, one joins the ranks of 25. (5)
25 See 23 down. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 528

ACROSS:—1 INSTALLMENT PLAN; 9 DRESSED; 10 CARRY ON; 11 ASKING; 12 BANISTER; 14 TREPHINING; 15 PELF; 17 RAPT; 19 CANNONADES; 22 IRRIGATE; 23 NERVII; 25 ORISONS; 26 INSULIN; 27 YOU NEVER CAN TELL.

DOWN:—1 INDIAN TERRITORY; 2 SPECKLE; 3 ABSINTHE; 4 LADY; 5 ENCHAINING; 6 TORRID; 7 LAYETTE; 8 NONPROFESSIONAL; 13 IN BAD TASTE; 16 IN PERSON; 18 PURLIEU; 20 DIVULGE; 21 IGNORE; 24 DISC.

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accordance with party dictates or at the behest of reactionary economic forces who frequently control them.

My decision to vote with the Republicans on Senate organizational matters was a decision of conscience. I think it would be politically immoral of me to take advantage of a change in the ratio of Republicans to Democrats in the Senate when the change was caused by an act of God—or by any other emergency.

Until the voters of the country in the 1954 election have a chance to review what I consider to be the very serious mistake they made in 1952 when they voted the Eisenhower Administration into power, I consider it my ethical obligation to vote with the Republicans on the procedural issue of organizing the Senate. You may be sure that when it comes to many specific legislative proposals I will not be found voting with the Republicans, because on the record they have made thus far in the Eisenhower Administration it is reasonable to assume that they will continue to vote against the public interest.

Washington WAYNE MORSE

Explanation Wanted

Dear Sirs: It appears that while Senator McCarthy clamors for book burning if books contain what he labels "dangerous thoughts," Senator Monroney merely suggests that such books be "quietly removed" from libraries. The two gentlemen may not be alike in manners, but I fail to see much difference in principle. On the question of freedom of literature they evidently both are against it, but Senator Monroney tips off McCarthy to use unsensational methods of suppressing books. Why Mr. Milburn [in *The Nation* of August 8] supposes that Monroney deserves encomiums for this sort of championship of liberty utterly escapes me, but perhaps the puzzle is elementary to our sociological sleuths in these macabre times.

New York DANIEL D. MOLONY

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Dear Sirs: Through the university research facilities in cooperation with the National Historical Publications Commission we are endeavoring to compile and publish the papers of Henry Clay. Letters both to and by Clay, other material of which Clay was the author, and particularly significant items about him will be included. My address is University of Kentucky, Lexington.

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